"After weaning, however, conditions change, and somewhat abruptly. However gradual parents try to make the transition from infancy to childhood, it is not always possible. Once the child has ceased to nurse, his food supply becomes uncertain; he begins to feel his first serious hunger pangs. His father may have obtained nothing on the hunt; he may have brought home only varieties of game which are taboo for a child to eat; he may have secured only a small amount of game, not sufficient to completely nourish his family; rain or flood may have prevented him from making an expedition in quest of food. Consequently, after the child is weaned, the response of crying which formerly always resulted in food is no longer always rewarded because there may be no food present at the moment. As the child grows older and more independent of his parents, the periods of actual food deprivation become more frequent and more intense. Younger siblings appear in the family and receive preferential treatment. Accompanying the pangs of hunger are the sufferings of fatigue and pain. The child is no longer carried, but must walk long distances with his parents in quest of food. No longer does he receive protection from cold south winds, from rain, and from insect pests. His feet become filled with spines. He suffers from skin worms, scorpion bites, and lack of sleep.

These are the conditions which provide the learning situation out of which a strong appetite for eating and an intense realistic anxiety about food arise in the Siriono child. These secondary drives develop soon after weaning and rise in intensity as the child

grows older and more independent of his parents. By the time a youth reaches the age of 10, he is already manifesting [96] most of the signs of adult behavior toward food. In general, he is aggressive in all matters that pertain to food. He fights and quarrels for his share of food; he manifests a strong reluctance to share food; he wolfs his food; he eats principally at night; during the day he may steal off in the forest to eat; he eats when he is ill or not hungry; he lies about food; he even dreams about food. Indeed, if the Siriono had developed eschatological concepts, the afterworld would probably be a place where food, above all things, would be found in abundance and plenty."

"In addition to the above-mentioned individual responses, which we may regard as direct manifestations of hunger frustration and anxiety in Siriono society, it appears that these conditions likewise occasion indirect manifestations by which we may characterize the society as a whole. Culturally, Siriono society exists on a very backward level. Technology is sparse; art is almost absent; social and political organization are relatively simple; there is an unconcern for intellectual and speculative matters. While unquestionably many factors—perhaps hundreds—operate to produce these conditions, yet it seems likely that the preoccupation with food problems—resulting in what we have called hunger anxiety—is one of the most significant ones. From my observations among the Siriono most of the native's time is spent on the quest for food or resting from it; under conditions of this kind, little seems to remain for the pursuit of other activities. While it is dangerous to generalize about such complex problems it does not seem likely that highly elaborated cultures would emerge under conditions similar to those found among the Siriono. Rather, cultures would change slowly and remain on a backward level. This is precisely what the Siriono data indicate.

In Siriono society we note, moreover, what appears to be a dominance of hunger over all other primary drives, except possibly that of fatigue. The Siriono, or course, do not suffer from lack of air or water, so such needs can be largely discounted as strong motivating forces in the society. But the dominance of hunger over sex seems unmistakable. While the drive of sex is seldom frustrated to any great extent, it is mobilized

largely through the drive of hunger. The family is founded on an economic basis. Marital partners are secured by providing food and economic security. Extramarital sex partners are acquired primarily through rewards of food. The preference for fat women over lean women and for food-gathering women over skilled potters or hammock makers suggests that even sexual appetites are based primarily on the drive of hunger. This is clearly observable among the women, who prefer good hunters to all other partners.

Actually, when food is scarce there is little expression of sex. On one expedition which I made into the forest with the Siriono for a period of about 6 weeks, I observed that there was little sexual activity during periods of food deprivation, but that excessive activity followed periods of food satiation. This, coupled with other data, leads to the conclusion that periods of food deprivation are generally accompanied by sexual abstinence while periods of food satiation are followed by sexual excesses. Such behavior seems to indicate the dominance of hunger over sex in Siriono society."

1: Holmberg--98 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 105, 155

"Finally, the personality of the adult Siriono is itself a logical consequence of a life-long struggle to secure enough to eat. His early education in the family, his later contacts with his fellow tribesmen, and his final exposure to a harsh and rigorous environment all teach him that to survive he must be aggressive, individualistic, and uncooperative. These are the outstanding personality traits of the adult Siriono. The strong dependency relationships formed in infancy and early childhood do not persist. Gradually but prematurely they are displaced by traits of independence, so that when an Indian has reached adulthood he displays an individualism and apathy toward his fellows that is formidable.

The apparent unconcern of one individual for another—even within the family—never ceased to amaze me while I was living with the Siriono. Frequently men would depart for the hunt alone—without so much as a good-by—and remain away from the band for weeks at a time without any concern on the part of their fellow tribesmen or even their wives. On one occasion Ndekai, his wife, and their clubfooted son stayed away from the band for 6 weeks, wandering from one place to another in search of food. When they left they told no one about their plans, and while they were gone, no one showed the least concern about them. After returning from such a long absence, Ndekai was not even greeted by his tribesmen, although they eagerly tried to secure some of the meat he brought back with him. Such experiences indicate that were it not for the fact that the band supplies sex and marital partners, the family could be an independent social group among the Siriono."